

NHR

Case:

Problem of : individual resistance, retaliation
intra-group, criminal justice
inter-group, war

What works in one doesn't necess. in other.

Peace, like war, needs org.

Attack upon the conscience of the assailant
[But R must be a respected person, not
"sub-human"] a moral flanking movement

unexpected kindness.

but must suppress instinct of self-respect,
resentment of injury.

Terrorism → { loss of sympathy, reason, common in P
 } reactionary laws
 " " laws

Case:

Non-violent coercion

N-v demonstration as signal, communication,
inviting the help of others.

[The peasant who "only wants to be left alone"
does want change: e.g. local authorities, actions of
RVNAF...]

Secondary strikes and boycotts enlist aid of
third parties by coercing them.

(VBO can be used to enlist energy of
third parties.)

role of communication, org,

opposition to widow and secrecy
(blacklist - court)

Just as an employer has to conceal blacklist,
to prevent resentment of this use of his
superior power, CS must be covert about
practices another country could use openly -
not because it must not further example,
but because its actions rouse jealousy
and resentment.

Malice + spite - bear private motives,
flourish in secrecy (as with blacklist).

[So - influence of politics on policy...]

Non-violent Rev

Do n-v's confront fact of violence as
end, desire, "value," : as response to, where of,
anger, frustration, "inhibition" ...; as choice of
risk, action; role-playing of power; ...

i.e. not merely "instrument," which may or may not be
effective.

Also, this impulse is in everybody; it is "natural";
to suppress it is "unnatural" — and one must
look for consequences of suppressing it.

To fit into US culture, Black must be violent.
But — if he is to change culture — he might
consider challenge of n-v r (with violence as
fall-back, last resort? Is that really incompatible?)
(e.g. as response to prolonged violence?)

Movies: King

Handli

Malechan X

The International against to show movies like
(anti-nuclear ...)



Ans of facts — get opposite to
eliminate potential supporters, and even
agents (demoralize them, open them to
corruption).

Satya does more of this than it
admits; pretends to work only on conscience
(and consciences) of opponents (esp. leaders);
gets, by causing opponents to behave in
illegally, "unjust" way [by depriving situation
of ordinary obligations; making it impossible
for A to "sit its way" except by such measures,
is situation where its instinct is to get its
way even if it has to use such means...]
also cause it to eliminate support + lose morale...

[Contract Wash. Poor Peoples March to
Chicago]

[Like NVN, Chicago R raised prior threats
of bigger provocation, disposed A to over-react.]

But Ciego & forfeited ^{much} some support...

Exhibition of detest, provocative behavior

("your mother sucks my dirty dick...")

- Potential of TV

(see Czechs)

- Importance of understanding, for us path

(crisis studies; bureaucracy;

studies of VC, DRV

- Role of testifying ^{to} truths & connections

(uncertainties)

[Re-examine secrecy system]

[What is "truth" about NVN? Covered,
indoctrinated? Or inspired patriots? - British]

(So - on aim of R - to make "A's" use of violence appear illegitimate, intolerable.)

Revolutionary Goals and Non-Violence

The System is built on Violence — and on legitimacy, Authority. ^{These are not, per se, incompatible.} To expose the foundation of Violence (as in Chicago, by provoking police) proves little: Unless one proposed total non-violence, or imagined the Government to be non-violent. But if Authority is lost, ^{or} legitimacy stripped away — the Violence, when exposed, appears intolerable, justifying counter-violence, or "civil disobedience." ~~And~~ this is accentuated by perception of the injustices and evils that the System — sustained "only" by violence — upholds, or tolerates, while repressing what ~~at~~ ^{at worst, the} much lesser evils of violence. ^(page 11) Discrimination; war establishments & practices; unbridled, & aggravated sickness, poverty; ~~antagonism~~ ^{authoritarian, repressive, reactionary,} authoritarian regimes elsewhere).

¶ Non-violence "converts" especially by attracting attention to ^a situation, to ^(the [and feelings] of "victims") resentments, to opportunities to change ^(conditions) them to moral responsibilities.

(Covertly, "converts" by worsening alternatives)

The Threat of Non-Violence

Persuasion: Argument

* Suffering (Gandhi was a Jewish Mother)

Example; leadership; identification; symbols

See relation of Satya. to Common techniques of
even violent coercion (appeal to
justice, legitimacy, b...)

* Demonstration of high value pts on ideals, goals,
will to achieve, not comply.

Evoke feeling, emotion: admiration, gratitude,
compassion, remorse, (shame, guilt)

(Danger of "creating martyrs": backlash due
to publicity, meant to terrorize.)

[Look into motives, background, of "passive aggressive."]

Non-violence and HAM

VC aim — Withdrawal of voluntary coop
from GVN. i.e. induce Non-Cooperation, or
Non-violent Resistance

Done partly but not entirely by
violent coercion; also,

- (a) non-violent coercion
- (b) persuasion
- (c) example, suffering, behavior
- (d) (count) provocation or exploitation of
GVN responses, character.

Test 3 elements condition effectiveness of incl
attitudes toward first two.

hanging can use ^{an} appeal to ^{the internal} ~~appeals~~
conscience, respect, loyalty, ^{despite using} ~~along with~~
violence, because ^(it is) "all in the family". ^{The} use of
violence does not convert ^{the} man into a fanatics,
non-human entity; communication remains possible.
7 The Party can even hope to convince P that it
is closer to P than ^{the} ~~are~~ "tools of A", the targets
of violence, ^{and} there is ^{often} a basis for ^{this} claim.

This, combines Satyagra with violence: the more
effectively, the less event the ^{violent} provocation on threat
(infiltration, command: bombing of North).
(ultimate aim of Commos.)

R holds out "forgiveness" for most.

Arena for D-V methods:

1. Catholics vs. Church on birth-control

esp: 2. Cath vs. Church on US policy toward birth control

3. Whites on problems of
Police
Welfare
Housing
Educ
Jobs

for whites and blacks

4. Blacks for above

5. Reform of state & local politics
counts

State and Congress

6. No first use of nukes (Raise contingency plans).

7. War economy / society: ~~the~~ R+D, minorities, ...

8. Violence in US culture (Western...)

N-V R

In calling for everyone to act like members of the same family, does Deming face

(1) the existence of anger, hatred, in the family?

(2) fact (?) that most homicides involve family members? (Cain - Abel)

(3) amount of violence in the family: spanking, wife-beating, fighting, argument, coercion?

Counter-judo

React to D-V mount as if it were violent,
get it to act violently in self-defense, then use
massive repression.

NVR^{inter} must be able to:

- (1) deal with concept of an "enemy"
- (2) make the effort to "explain" opponent's hostility & violence, suppress or stunt rage.
- (3) accept the opponent's contempt (inferior of weakness, cowardice).

NVR

Needs?

(a) religious have to appeal to?

Christian, Hindu

(b) ^{an} Evil to stop (hard to make someone do something, by non-coop: easier to make them stop).

e.g. Police harassment

Then NVR is (a) an alternative to violence

(b) the minimum concession to individual dignity
(unless coercive forces overruling)

- appeals to old, young:

- Needs mass coop, to work

- but has a chance of getting it

(at high level of involvement;
unlike need, or capability, in
guerrilla ops).

- if it gets it, has "side-effects" of

(a) mass morale, dignity

(b) chance for democratic polity later (compare
[But: India?] Congress on Bolshevism)

(c) chance for reconciliation with adversaries

V vs NVR

Issue: is means of ~~pressure~~ ^{used} compatible with effort to understand ("love") opponent, change his mind/heart, avoid hatred of him, reconcile with him ("optimal"), regard him as human, person, individual, brother, neighbor?

Or not?

(Does it leave "permanent damage" - to him, to war? Does it surely evade - his will to do permanent damage

(Compare types of torture!)

Define violence = ^{some of} its highly-probable effects...

NVR

Not just "non-cooperation" — since individual kindly ^{will} ~~not~~ not count for much, maybe not at all.

Must inspire/encourage/organize non-cooperation by (a) many people
(b) esp., those who do matter to adversary.

NV is necessary to "ultimate community." King 214

(Why needed in India? Perhaps, needed there for mass participation; which, even with NV, was more promising than small-scale violent R.

How might NVR have worked for VC?

Answer: look at Buddhists.

(Was VC background needed for this? I doubt it.)

NVR as an ideology that

- evokes mass response
- can make holders feel righteous, moral (Christians, Hindus) - esp. if propounded by trusted, respected leader

[or: my not; and if it doesn't....]

e.g. "Christian / Hindu" potentially feels his own suffering / death is worthwhile

(a) if it helps his children, humanity

(b) if it converts opponent

or (c) if alternative is adding to the sum of violence / evil (by hurting opponent).

(i.e. must believe that violence / hatred is evil in itself, even in retaliation)

NVR reflects principle of
|| minimum necessary damage to opponents
to achieve ends (in combination with
permission).

This ~~with~~ my man: not suffering
for Resistor than otherwise; method of showing
a willingness to suffer in order to inflict
suffering (which enhances credibility of
threats), NVR reveals a willingness to
suffer to minimize suffering of opponent:
i.e. his suffering is regarded as a cost,
not a goal; i.e. he is like a friend,
brother, neighbor, etc.: not an "enemy" or
a "thing."

[or: it may appear to reveal weakness
or fear. ^{or naivete.} However, cheerful acceptance of
suffering allays this impression; my least
impression of "other-worldliness," which
may encourage "offbeat rules" of response.]
(Heute also now...)

However, consider cases ^(spanking?) when
"surgery" - about
physical violence may appear to promise less overall
harm than prolonged or perhaps misinterpreted use of other methods.

But: does NVR even after achieving conversion
of ^{individual} opponents?

[Or does it change balance ^{of power}, within opposing
organization or alliance?]

Do positive aspects of NVR make much
difference, in effect on opponent?

(On third parties? Less direct interest.

Prob. yes.)

(On one's own side; almost surely, yes.

My loss some, but gain other.)

Compare NVR and VR as means of
inducing pride, self-respect.

(NVR does not involve same degree of
risk as VR, even if risk is considerable; hence, it
can be used by larger number, who then
benefit by degree of participation. It is
less dangerous — though still provocative.

[Consider: NVR + intake violence.]

NWR st "establishes broken community"

i.e. looks beyond the "bargain," the
"solution" to group demands.

[look at this deficit of Israel-Arab
relations, despite Israeli "victories."]

[yet - look at US-Japan
US-Guang
France-Algeria (?)
relations.

Violence always has the potentially demoralizing
effect of feeling one is losing wrong
(as well as security & remuneration, though...)

Schools, VN

- crisis of legitimacy
- lack of respect for officials
- exclusion of masses from full participation
(+ suppression of a minority)
- rules, force, violence, as substitute for authority.
- refusal ^{by A} to see conflict as political: between equals
- refusal to negotiate or consult
- failure even by A to use law (justification: Harvard
Berkeley)
first: instead, physical measures.
- indiscrim. violence by forces of A
- "jump" to violent means by R. (fatalism about
willingness of A to respond to
lesser measures)

(Maller)

(Boulding)

Sistering

(King Island)

Friends' Ward College)

(Donaldson)

Hayden

- Herald Taylor (NH)

- Harris Wafford

- George Willoughby

(NV Strategic & Social Change
Penille Hill, Wallingford)

- Russell Johnson

- Roger Landrum
(Teacher, Inc.)